791 Every magician (soma) (2) has his own methods: one

2. A sorcerer is a suba (See Chapter 7).

may be intuitive and work from an inner light; another may operate only by deductive divination. All who lay claim to real power submit to rules which are often strange and rigorous and which dominate the most trifling activities of their lives. And all are fanatically determined to keep the secrets which, in their own eyes no less than in the eyes of the uninitiated, are the foundation of their mysterious powers.

[143] Very properly, the range of their investigations and their action is without limits, since everything is impregnated by the energy which is everywhere and in everything and which perhaps is everything, material form being merely one of its manifestations.

789 It is worthy of note that artisans are subject to the same dislike as that for ill-famed magicians. It is not too hazardous
463 to deduce that manual labor once consisted of magic rites which
791 were held to be indispensable in conquering matter. This is still evident in the case of blacksmiths and hunters.

791 Everywhere in the Sudan, blacksmiths are considered
326 and, indeed, behave like magicians. The extraction of iron is surrounded by essentially magic rites in which only blacksmiths may participate. After ritual preparation, they work naked while the job lasts and return to normal life only for a certain time after the work has been completed; even then they have to observe special rules. Their work is commonly thought to be tinged with magic. Their tools are impregnated by this invisible energy and, on certain days, the hut in which they are kept becomes a sort of temple, with the blacksmith as priest. The chronicle (1) attributes to fa Siné Dyara, a blacksmith who

1. See p. 112.

could understand the language of the birds, a role especially helpful to the Massa-si.

428 2. If there are no children, the collateral males and, lacking them, the wives.

596 3. If there are no collateral relatives, the ascendants.

614 4. If there are no ascendants, the surviving spouse.

5. If there is no surviving spouse, escheat occurs: [220] the inheritance reverts to the head of the settlement, the dugu-tigi, when this settlement is independent; otherwise to the head of the clan, the fama.

596 The community and the individual. The result of the foregoing is that the individual, whoever he may be and what-614 ever his situation, has no value except as a member of a community (1); it is the community that exists and has an identity,

[567] 1. A slave has no rights because, as a person, he belongs to no community.

while the individual exists and is identified only through the community and for the community.

An individual who exists apart from any faya is, therefore, an anomaly, and this situation comes to an end as soon as the individual himself becomes fa.

596 There are cases, however, when an individual is put out of his community because of his own action or because of cir-614 cumstances, and extraordinary changes of status result.

626 Anyone driven from his community for bad conduct loses his rights to the faya in that community.

564 If his disqualification results from the practice of a trade regarded as degrading, he falls into what the Bambara call 558 nyama-ka-la and Europeans call "people of caste." Henceforth he is not only excluded from his community, but he lives apart from all persons not declassed; he is a free man of inferior standing. He usually lives under the protection of a community of persons not declassed, earning his living from it and deriving from it such consideration as may be sometimes given him.

564 Among the Bambara, the nyama-ka-la include: the ●463 numu, blacksmiths, whose wives are usually potters; the loro, who work with copper; the garanke, who work leather; and the kule, who work with wood and are sometimes saddlers.

564 The hunters (donso), who form powerful and feared associations, and the somono [Somono] and bozo [Bozo], who are fishermen, have a less restricted status than the above-mentioned artisans.

463

The dyeli who has fallen to the level of a domestic factotum is the most scorned of all. He receives some consideration and, in exceptional cases, notable esteem only through his worth as family archivist.

564 The term nyama-ka-la is derived from nyama [221] meaning "ordure" or "outcast," and these people are outcasts. They are scorned. Some are particularly feared: the blacksmiths and the dyeli. The former are reputed, not without cause, to be given to the practice of magic and even sorcery. The dyeli have a fancy for poisoning.

[754]

Since persons of caste are free, they may contract marriage, that is, a lawful union, and found families just as free, non-caste persons do. Their male children naturally inherit the father's status which, thus, is handed down indefinitely through the male line.

Ordinarily they intermarry within the caste although sometimes a member of one caste may marry a member of another.

558 Any non-caste individual who marries a member of a
564 caste automatically loses status. A woman who does so is henceforth considered to be a person of caste, and her children necessarily have the status of their father. A man is less seriously affected, and it is not at all rare for a man of standing to have a wife of caste. This is indubitably a misalliance; children of such a union are not highly regarded, and this reflects on the father.

564 On the other hand, it is entirely normal and common to have persons of caste among one's friends. There is hardly a person of consequence who does not have several of them as boon companions.

Although the fact of belonging to a caste carries with it a definite status, the caste member is not necessarily expected to practice the traditional trade. A member of the numu caste may very well know nothing whatever about ironwork and may

b. Organization of Work

241 621 Work on the land is the only kind of work suitable for free men, for to work the land is to purify it. All agricultural operations [622 are set in motion by the dugu-tigi and are regulated by the fa who 516] assigns tasks by age classes. Each member of the community must work for it every day, except Monday and Thursday, from dawn to about 4:30 p.m. He may be helped, or even replaced, by his children and his captives. The rest of the time he may work for himself in his personal field or in the little fields situated along the water courses and the rivers, which are not periodically redistributed and are considered almost as personal and hereditary property. The fruit of this labor constitutes the personal savings of the community member.

316 423 The exploitation of the subsoil is governed by other rules which we still know only imperfectly. Like the soil, the subsoil belongs to the master of the land. Iron ore was extracted solely by the [326] blacksmith who paid the master of the land a rent in the form of hoes or axes. To exploit the gold mines, thousands of natives went in family groups to the placers at the beginning of the dry season. [63] The location of the placers was determined by the priests and changed every year. The men dig multiple small holes very close to each other, which may go very deep depending on the depth of the barren layer. When the calabashes of gold-bearing earth are brought up, the women wash the earth. The placers are abandoned at the beginning of the rains after three or four months of exploitation. Before the French occupation, gold was the exclusive property of the Fama and could in no case be the object of commerce. To- [439] day, gold is generally sold at the placers to Syrian, native, or European merchants, who have established veritable shops at the mining centers, shops which contain everything necessary for the miner's life.

463 554 The exercise of a profession other than the cultivation of the land is reserved to artisans who are accorded the insulting name of nyaman-kala, for only work on the land is noble work. These artisans form separate families in every Sudanese society, which has caused Europeans to call them, improperly, people of caste. They are divided into independent guilds.

463 554 [324] The numu: blacksmiths, whose wives are generally potters. The smiths are the masters of fire, those who cook the sacred earth in order to extract the minerals or to fix the form of pottery.

The loro: coppersmiths.

The garanka: leatherworkers.

The kule: woodworkers, and sometimes saddlemakers.

The donso: hunters, who form powerful and feared associations.

The somono, or fishermen, who have a status a little less restricted than that of the artisans mentioned above.

The dyeli or griot, domestic factotums of a kind, who, although the most disdained of all these, are nevertheless the family archivists.

[583] One may add two Peul shepherd tribes, identified by Manson: the Dyanna and the Bouguena (1).

1. See Monteil, Les Bambara du Ségou et du Kaarta [The Bambara of Ségou and Kaarta].

463 564 All of these artisans are endogamous and fixed in caste, father to son. However, the fact that a man belongs to a caste does not obligate him to exercise the caste trade.

326 463 608 The most powerful guild is incontestably that of the blacksmiths. From their ranks are recruited all the priests, the Fama's interpreters, the well-diggers, the grave-diggers, the executioners, the circumcisers, etc. They are the sénanku of all the families and are in charge of all the purification rites.

554 The griot are equally feared, because of the power of their words and because they spread afar the renown of the chiefs.

564 The free man who marries a woman of caste marries beneath himself, and his children are looked down on.

[324] The purest blacksmith families are those of the Fané Balo; the purest griot those of the Koniaté. People of caste always remain [527] at liberty; when they are captured during a war, they make themselves known and keep their status.

463 326 [64] These different guilds are sufficient to maintain in the Bambara country a certain industry of a distinctly artisan and non-specialized type. Thus, the smiths work iron, copper, and wood to

463 make tools, farming implements in current use, furnishings, orna-
326 mental objects, bracelets, different kinds of rings. They also work gold and silver to make jewelry in filigree.

462 Weaving and basket-making are not done by the people of
286 caste, but by all men, or, formerly, by their house captives.
285 Primitive looms, worked by treadles, are set up outside of the houses in the shade of the trees. The men weave long bands of cotton for making clothes, loin-cloths, and blankets. These bands, several meters long, are sometimes made into rolls weighing as much as 30 kilograms and are carried off to market by the diula [531] (itinerant merchants). The Bambara practice dyeing, batik, and embroidery (done by the men).

433 All this industry remains of strictly local interest and is directed solely toward meeting the immediate needs of the community.

c. Division of Labor

462 The Bambara are essentially an agricultural people. Never-
857 theless, as all members of the society must contribute a certain amount of work to the community, the nature of this work varies according to the social classes and according to whether a man, a woman, or a child is involved. The following tables indicate how the work is divided.

1. Distribution of tasks according to A. Aubert.

Men	Women	Children	All
	Foodstuffs		
	Preparation of food and dolo (beer)		
	Sale of dolo		
Preparation of hives, setting them, gathering the honey	Bottling and sale of honey	Helping	

462
857

Men	Women	Children	All
Planting and harvesting manioc			
Profits from okra, da, and indigo go to the men	Okra; cultivation and harvesting Da: id. Indigo: id.	Helping Helping Helping	
Preparation of cotton lougan	Harvesting, picking out, spinning cotton	Helping	
Weaving, sewing, putting together	Sale, dyeing	Helping	
Preparation of tobacco lougan, preparation and sale	Watering, powdering, and retail sale of snuff	Helping	
Preparation of calabash lougan, harvesting, emtying, sale, and decoration		Gathering burgu for horses	
	Wells		
[463] Drilling by male smiths only	Drawing water	Helping (girls)	

462
463 [66]

Men	Women	Children	All
	Furnishings		
Beds, mats, secco [sic]	Canari [earthenware vessel supported by a tripod] (women of smiths' caste: preparation and firing)		
	Ironwork		
Male smiths, everything from extraction of the metal to sale			
	Jewelry		
Smiths			
	Leatherwork		
Shoemakers			
	Basketry		
All men without differentiation			
	Burial		
Each for his sex			
Digging grave	Preparation of water for purification and perfumes		
Carrying body			
Burial			

Men	Women	Children	All
462 463	**Circumcision and excision**		
Male smiths for the boys	Females of smiths' caste for the girls		
	Midwifery		
	All women past menopause		
	Religion		
Koma and Dio reserved to men	?		
	Coiffure		
[302] Men's heads are shaved by men	Women braid the men's hair where this mode of hairdressing survives		
	All the women's coiffures		
	Ropes		
Preparation of fiber, drying, cording			
	Tanning		
Male shoemakers			
[67]	**Rubber**		
[857] Sale		Gathering and preparation	

Ba
773 tools and the throwing weapon were made. Then, unfired pottery and weaving were invented; and men finally came to know stone tools, iron and the forge. The technique of making dwellings seems to have developed more slowly.

a. Fishing

Ba
Bo
226 Side by side with populations who specialize in the art of fish-
463 ing, such as the Bozo or the Somono caste, all the Bambara fish in
564 the [96] rivers or watercourses in the neighborhood of their dwellings. A detailed study has been made by J. Daget (1). The Somono, who

1. Jacques Daget, "La pêche dans le delta central du Niger" [Fishing in the Central Delta of the Niger], Journal de la Société des Africanistes, Vol. XIX (1949), No. 1.

are the caste of Bambara fishermen, use traps and nets for fishing; the Bozo remain faithful rather to harpoons and small nets. They are
Ba the ones who almost always make the pirogues, for they alone may
Bo enter in rapport with the spirit of the water, Faro. The nets are of
286 knotted mesh made with a weaver's shuttle, sia, and a cylindrical
227 mold, pako. The band of the net, as it is being made, is nearly always attached to a wooden bridge especially conceived for this purpose, the kale or dio soyo kala, a regular tetrahedron whose edges
Ba are about 20 centimeters long, one of which is prolonged by a handle
Bo 1.50 meters long. The fisherman, seated on the ground, puts the
383 bridge before him, keeping the handle close to his leg. The fibers
824 used in netmaking are da (Hibiscus cannabinus), kie (Figna unguiculata), cotton, and now European thread.

Bo The Bozo construct weirs from cut and joined tree branches;
226 the weirs assume several different forms according to the regions and
Bo the snares used. Fish are used for human consumption; they are eaten
Ba fresh, grilled, fried or boiled, or preserved by smoking or drying. Oil,
251 used for cooking and as a lubricant, is extracted from certain fish,
252 such as the tineni.

Ba Fishing in Bambara villages is done communally under the
226 direction of a fishing chief at the time the waters recede. Precise rules of fishing rights and of rents due the masters of the waters are respected everywhere.

4: Mersadier--13 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37
Thies
Wolof MS30
Serer FA32
Tukolor MS27
Fulani MS11
Soninke MS21
Bambara FA8

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Table II

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	Expenses
1	Sarakolé	Laborer	5,800	5,839
2	Peul	Orderly	6,100	6,726
3	Wolof	Laborer	6,500	5,383
4	Sérère	Laborer	6,700	8,251
5	Toucouleur	Orderly D. N.	6,745	6,772
6	Wolof	Mattress-maker	7,000	7,471
7	Wolof	Laborer	7,000	7,231
8	Wolof	Orderly	7,410	7,234
9	Wolof	Baker	7,500	7,842
10	Wolof	Cultivator	8,150	8,133
11	Moor	Auxiliary D. N.	8,940	9,067
12	Peul	Laborer	9,000	8,952
13	Wolof	Laborer	9,800	9,981
14	Wolof	Cultivator	10,000	8,092
15	Bambara	Laborer	10,000	8,501
16	Bambara	Auxiliary	10,675	10,013
17	Moor	Auxiliary	10,800	10,892
18	Peul	Spec. laborer	11,000	9,816
19	Toucouleur	Accountant	11,950	10,860
20	Bambara	Auxiliary D. N.	12,000	13,557
21	Wolof	Clerk	13,000	13,799
22	Wolof	Auxiliary	14,000	14,405
23	Wolof	Cultivator	15,000	9,182
24	Wolof	Cultivator	15,000	13,809
25	Wolof	Auxiliary D. N.	15,630	13,801
26	Wolof	Employee P. T. T.	15,800	10,238
27	Wolof	Shoemaker	16,200	10,600
28	Wolof	Worker D. N.	22,000	18,641
29	Toucouleur	Police sergeant	22,000	18,730
30	Wolof	Weigher D. N.	24,000	14,305
31	Wolof	Carpenter	25,000	21,571
32	Wolof	Cultivator	25,000	7,850

Thiès
Serer FA32
Wolof MS30
SONINKE MS21
BAMBARA FA8

/397 cont./ Table II (cont.)

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	Expenses
33	Sérère	Chauffeur	25,000	15,706
34	Wolof	Employee P.T.T.	25,900	14,715
35	Wolof	Staff employee D.N.	27,000	16,654
36	Wolof	Private accountant	34,000	19,829
37	Wolof	Truck-gardener	36,000	23,680
38	Wolof	Jeweler	50,000	27,397
39	Sarakolé	Teacher	51,000	21,240
40	Wolof	Staffworker D.N.	55,000	31,004
41	Sarakolé	Head employee D.N.	55,500	21,105
42	Bambara	Chief worker, C.D.N.	56,000	24,548
43	Wolof	Doctor	81,000	34,612

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deficits of Nos. 24, 25, and 26, which are less significant. The slenderness of the deficit of No. 3 can be explained by the limited number of persons that the unit of consumption contains.

in the care of one of the families having the smallest income.)

This deficit is, of course, theoretical. Not having followed these families closely for an entire year, we cannot pretend to present an exact balance-sheet of their budget. It is possible that our percentages would be reduced in the course of a year, or a longer period, either by a reduction in expenses (reduction of consumption, or reduction of the unit of consumption itself) or by the creation of another source of income. The fact remains, however, that they do exist and that they are important.

It will be easy for us to show where they come from. It is almost impossible to explain rationally their persistence and their